



OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL UNION PARTY

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# Soviet Republic Forging Ahead

## I. U. P. Wins Court Victory

In a sweeping decision, Justice Hammer of the New York State Supreme Court, granted a temporary injunction against the use of the name "Industrial Union Party" by an enemy group of the real I. U. P. which had sought to reap the harvest of good will and adherents which years of diligent and conscientious effort by the genuine organization had created.

The decision is of outstanding importance because it halts the introduction into the labor movement of unethical methods usually practiced in the more shady branches of capitalist industry and commerce. It appears to be regarded as important in legal circles as well, for the New York "Law Journal" distinguishes it by printing it in full as follows:

"*Brandon, as sec'y &c., v. Brandon, as sec'y &c.*—The plaintiff organization, which came into being in June, 1928, is an unincorporated association of seven or more members, for educational purposes and to disseminate the propaganda of industrial unionism, which also embraced political action, including the use of the ballot to accomplish the aims and principles of industrial unionism. The name originally was Industrial Union League. On June 14, 1933, the name of the organization was changed to Industrial Union Party, for the purpose of securing the nomination of candidates for mayor, comptroller and president of the board of aldermen in the municipal campaign in the City of New York in the election of 1933, and candidates for other political offices thereafter. The defendant, one of the members of the plaintiff, was expelled from the organization in April, 1932. He appealed to the executive committee for reinstatement, and his appeal was denied. He and several other members of the plaintiff who resigned organized the Industrial Union Alliance, the purposes of which were the same as the plaintiff. On June 11, 1933, the Industrial Union Alliance changed its name to Industrial Union Party, and the membership have obtained petitions for the nomination of several of its members for election to the municipal offices in the election referred to above, and have also selected a party emblem. The plaintiff publishes a paper called the Industrial Unionist, which has a circulation variously stated to be by the defendant 100, and by the plaintiff 1,500. Neither organization is a political party, nor can either acquire that status except as provided in section 2, subdivision 5, of the Election Law, chapter 588 of the Laws of 1922, as amended. "The term 'party' means any political organization which at the last preceding election for governor polled at least 15,000 votes for governor, and after January 1, 1933, any political organization which polled at the last preceding election for governor at least 25,000 votes for governor." At most, plaintiff and defendant amount to political bodies, as defined in subdivision 11, section 2, item: "The term 'independent body' means any organization or group of voters which, by independent certificate, nominates a candidate or candidates for office to be voted for at an election at which official

(Continued on page 4)

## DO YOU WANT A WORKERS' REPUBLIC?

It's

VOTE

## INDUSTRIAL UNION PARTY

in the New York City election

For Mayor

**Adolph Silver**

For Pres. of the Board of Aldermen

**Sam Brandon**

For Comptroller

**Irving Oring**

And organize POLITICALLY and INDUSTRIALLY for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

## I. U. P. Frustrates Capitalist Politicians

Upon the complaint of the "Recovery Party" which is running Joseph V. McKee for Mayor in New York City, several political groups were called to appear before the Board of Elections to show cause why they should not be eliminated from the coming contest at the polls. Among those summoned was Comrade Sam Brandon, Secretary to the Executive Committee of the Industrial Union Party.

The hearing was marked by much confused and irrelevant argument until Comrade Brandon made the point which confounded the slick politicians and resulted in the Board admitting that the I. U. P. could not be prevented from appearing on the ballot as a result of the complaint of McKee.

Comrade Brandon made the point clear that the Election Law decrees that petitions for a place on the ballot can be protested against only within three days after their filing with the city authorities. He proved that the "Recovery-ites" had been too late in entering their complaint as they had waited ten days before doing so. He demanded a ruling by the Board as to this point of law, and succeeded in bringing them to a decision favorable to the I. U. P.

The McKeeites then resorted to other legal methods. They served the Election Board with a Supreme Court order to show cause why it should not remove the Industrial Union Party, among others, from the election contest and the ballot. They raised, but failed to support the charge that the Industrial Union Party petitions were short the required number of qualified petitioners. Finally, after numerous futile efforts the complainants dropped the fight, and the Industrial Union Party candidates will

(Continued from Page 3)

## Impending Renewal of Relations with U.S.A. But One Step in Irresistible Advance

The approaching sixteenth anniversary of the Russian revolution which unseated the capitalist class and placed the workers in control of the destinies of that vast country finds Soviet Russia mounted high on the road to Socialism, after a struggle which has been unprecedented in history.

The march of the workers has been a succession of victories over their enemies within and without the country, over the unwearied forces of Nature, over the lethargy of masses accustomed to traditional modes of living—in short, against a "conspiracy" of elements which only the inspiration flowing from a great goal to be achieved could conquer.

Faced with a task of bringing the industries up to the levels of the leading capitalist nations of the world in order to make the establishment of Socialism possible, the workers of Russia have accomplished wonders.

A few items from the many industries give a clear picture of the gigantic strides taken. For the third quarter of this year pig iron production reached the figure of 23,534 tons compared to 16,000 the year before. Steel output was 22,873 tons compared to 14,000 tons. Coal output now is about 220,000 tons per day compared to 150,000 tons the year before. Freight car loadings have increased this month from 52,000 cars per day to 55,000 as compared to the month previous. The automotive plant at Nizhnyogorod, which was almost at a standstill a year ago is producing 92 Ford model cars and trucks per day. These increases are typical of all forms of production.

The invitation of the United States to Soviet Russia is the forerunner of another great era of expansion.

Capitalist America is tottering to its grave. Its industries are stagnant. Great masses of unemployed look to its government for assistance. Its financial structure is in a state of collapse. Everywhere the evidences present themselves that unless some degree of stimulation is given to the decrepit system it will fall. Ironically it is only the stalwart youth of an enemy system which can provide the needed renewal of strength capitalism in this country needs.

Soviet Russia needs the materials, implements, manufacturing experience and other advantages which this country holds in abundance. The increased needs of its awakened population require tractors, automobiles, dwellings, railroad supplies, and countless other articles which political recognition ultimately will make available. Its orders to American industry will start wheels turning and give work to hundreds of thousands of workers. At the same time it will rear that great new social structure in Russia under which the workers will enjoy self government, control the industries of the land, determine their own hours of labor and their own working conditions—free from the robbery and exploitation which the workers of this country must suffer so long as they do not heed the call of the revolutionary movement.

What the workers of Russia have done can be done by the workers of America. Organized industrially and politically they could take the industries of the nation away from private ownership, operate and administer them themselves, shorten their working hours to perhaps two hours per day, RECEIVE THE FULL VALUE OF WHAT THEY PRODUCE, instead of permitting a capitalist to take the greater part, as today, and otherwise make this a heaven on earth.

Workers of the United States, you have only a black future before you under capitalism! There will be increased unemployment regardless of what temporary measures the capitalist class may employ. There will be increased exploitation, lower wages, intensified misery. Follow the example of the brave workers of Russia; Organize! Overthrow the capitalist class! Set up a Workers' Republic, and put an end to your suffering forever!

## Ford Says "Starve!"

The attitude of Henry Ford in regard to the strike taking place at his assembly plant at Edgewater justifies the above caption, but his is only typical of that of the whole capitalist class toward the workers. His attitude is an index of the strength which the capitalists possess because they have economic power, and at the same time reveals the weakness of the workers who, in the face of a powerful enemy, permit themselves to remain disorganized.

The Ford Company has plants distributed throughout the country. At some, the complete car is manufactured. At others the various parts, shipped from other points are merely assembled. The organization is an industrial empire, connected with various forms of communication and transportation. It has an administration centering in Detroit which holds the reins of all its factories through its subordinate plant managers. The managers in turn control their various subdivisions through superintendents, and the latter have their foremen and assistant foremen, immediately over the mass of the men engaged in producing cars.

Despite its integral nature, the organization can discard any single factory without any effect upon it. Indeed, with the capacity of the combined plants being perhaps five times the quantity of cars actually required to fill orders, the company can well afford to carry idle plants like spare tires, for occasional use. Undoubtedly were it not for the pleas and threats of local politicians, the interests of economic production would be regarded and numerous factories of the Ford Company would be shut down completely.

The capitalist thus, is in an almost impregnable position. What is the situation among the workers?

We find that the workers at the Edgewater plant went out on strike spontaneously. They are temporarily gathered under the direction of pure and simple labor

(Continued on Page 2)

# THE "INTELLECTUAL" AND DE LEON

By A. L. B.

Since the earliest days the American Labor Movement, has been infested with the species homo, known as the "intellectual." An "intellectual" is defined by Daniel De Leon as follows:

"The general feature of the 'intellectual' is superficiality, coupled, of course, with the usual accompaniment of vanity and conceit—the features that the sage had in mind when he declared that 'a little learning puffeth up.' Unschooled in the prime requirement of knowledge—the art of thinking—the 'Intellectual' equips himself with scraps of learning, and decked, with these ill-fitting feathers, he forthwith sets himself up as a perambulating lump of wisdom. . . ."

This gentry has been the bane of the labor movement and it has almost become an axiom. "The intellectual you will always have with you."

The present period proves no exception. The "fair haired boy" of the "Intellectuals" of the present moment, is one V. F. Calverton, editor, of the "Modern Monthly" and listed as associate editor of "Common Sense." In the July 1933 number of "Common Sense," in an article entitled, "Eugene Debs and American Radicalism," this worthy runs afoul of Daniel De Leon.

We are specifically concerned with the following extract:

"While men like Daniel De Leon, Bill Haywood and William Z. Foster have figured scarcely less conspicuously in the history of the American Labor Movement, none has won the same unqualified admiration and acclaim. De Leon the best thinker of them all and the potential American Lenin, ultimately developed the theory of the impossibility of winning strikes and came to advocate a dual unionism so suicidal in character that he isolated himself from the very masses he hoped to lead."

Only an "Intellectual" or a down right charlatan could couple the name of De Leon, with Haywood and Foster.

De Leon was the best thinker of them all, the potential American Lenin." So speaks our intellectual. "For them kind words, we thank thee."

De Leon would be the first to spurn, as we do today, the gilded phrase, which seeks to sugar-coat the poisoned darts.

As is to be expected Calverton does not trouble himself to substantiate, with even the semblance of evidence, his canard concerning De Leon's position on strikes. He was subsequently given an opportunity to do so, which he failed to avail himself of, for the very excellent reason that no such theory was ever formulated by De Leon.

De Leon's position on strikes is well known and was readily available to Mr. Calverton. In the historic address entitled the "Burning Question of Trades Unionism," De Leon stated his position as follows:

"That analysis shows you that trades organizations are essential; they are essential to break the force of the onslaught of the capitalist. . . . (page 33).

"In the second place the trades union has an immediate mission. The supreme mission of trades unionism is ultimate. That day is not yet. The road thither may be long or short but it is arduous. At any rate we are not yet there. Steps in the right direction, so-called 'immediate demands' are among the most precarious. They are precarious because they are subject and prone to the lure of the 'sop' or the 'palliative' that the foes of Labor's redemption are working class, and at which, aided by the efforts of the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, the unwary are apt to snap—and be hooked. But there is a test by which the bait can be distinguished from the sound step, by which the trap can be detected and avoided, and yet the right step forward taken. The test is this: DOES THE CONTEMPLATED STEP SQUARE WITH THE ULTIMATE AIM? If it does, the step is sound and safe; if it

does not the step is a trap and disastrous. The 'immediate step' that acts like a brake on the decline of wages belongs to the former category, provided only the nature of the brake is not such that it inevitably invites a future decline that requires a future brake and which brake only invites some later decline and so on towards a catastrophe or towards final coldloom." (page 34, 35).

So we see that despite the fabrication of Calverton and his associated falsifiers De Leon did advocate the use of strikes under proper conditions. However he was at all times careful to point out that the general tendency of capitalist production is to progressively depress wages, and here he was on the solid ground of Marxian economics. In his brilliant speech, "Value, Price and Profit," Karl Marx regarding this subject states as follows:

"These few hints will suffice to show that the very development of modern industry must progressively turn the scale in favor of the capitalist against the working man and consequently the general tendency of capitalist production is not to raise but to sink the average standard of wages or to push the value of labor more or less to the minimum limit. . . . At the same time and quite apart from the general servitude involved in the wages system, the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate workings of these everyday struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement but not changing its direction, that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady." (page 73, 74).

Calverton further resurrects the old chestnut about De Leon isolating himself from the masses with his doctrine of "Dual Unionism." He thereby joins the ranks of the labor fakirs and Socialist betrayers, who from the days of Gompers down have hurled the identical charge at De Leon.

The Socialist Party and the pure and simple "intellectuals" have been "boring from within" the American Fakirization of Labor for over forty long years and what have they accomplished? In a leading article published October 12 in the "Daily

## Ford Says: "Starve!"

(Continued from Page 1)

"leaders." They, unlike the capitalist for whom they labor, have no connections with the Detroit, Norfolk, or other plants. When they walked off the job it was the simplest matter, indeed, under the circumstances, it was probably a pleasure for Ford to concentrate his production into fewer factories. When they downed tools, they were automatically converting the workers in the other Ford plants into unintentional scabs who were, by taking over the work which should have gone to Edgewater, aiding the capitalist to break the strike.

The lesson in so far as it affects strikes, should be apparent to the workers. They must organize so that all the workers of a plant, of a group of plants, of entire industries, can strike in single or multiple units as an occasion demands. Only the Industrial Union can make such common action possible.

Another lesson the workers can draw from this—or any other strike—is that the working class and the capitalist class are enemies engaged in a terrific struggle which is constantly flaring up in all sections of industry.

Still another lessons is that the capitalist holds his power, that he controls the alternative of whether the workers starve or not, by his control of the means by which the workers produce the necessities of life—by his ownership of the factories, mines, railroads, etc. Only the principles implicit in Industrial Unionism can lead to the restoration of all social wealth to the workers.

For the every day struggle and for the final goal to which the working class must eventually turn, there is but one answer, the Socialist Industrial Union.

Worker," official Communist Party Organ, glaring headlines carried the story that the past A. F. of L. convention, was the most reactionary in all of its history. Such is the fruit of forty years of "boring from within."

With these introductory remarks we are going to let De Leon speak on Calverton. Well did De Leon know his ilk, and that he completely took his measure a long time ago the following editorial will demonstrate.

## THE "INTELLECTUAL"

(Daily People, March 19, 1905)

Everywhere, the serious Socialists in the world are engaged in the effort to extricate the Movement from the meshes of the "Intellectual," and to set up barriers against his approach, or at least dams against his pernicious influence. Nowhere, however, are conditions so favorable as in America for the detection of the microbe. American conditions furnish an easy test to tell the "Intellectual" by. The test is his attitude on the Trades Union, meaning thereby the economic organization of the Working Class.

The general feature of the "Intellectual" is superficiality, coupled, of course, with the usual accompaniment of vanity and conceit—the features that the sage had in mind when he declared that "a little learning puffeth up." Unschooled in the prime requirement for knowledge—the art of thinking—the "Intellectual" equips himself with scraps of learning, and decked with these ill-fitting feathers, he forthwith sets himself up as a perambulating lump of wisdom. Of course, he is twisted on every important practical question and revels only in abstractions; of course, he bumps up at every step against facts that, "intellectual" though he calls himself, he lacks the intellect to comprehend; and, as a natural consequence of all this, he slowly acquires an instinctive, if not involuntary aversion for whatever requires exact knowledge, and a malignant hatred for those before whom, being of superior calibre than himself, his "genius" feels rebuked. The general principles of Socialism are so obvious that the "Intellectual" is fascinated by them. He drifts into the Socialist Movement as straws drift into a vortex. He comes there to shine, generally also to gather coppers; and he flutters his loose-hanging feathers. As a rule he considers himself a God-ordained Editor, and forthwith proceeds to throw upon others the blame for his utter failure, being wholly unable to detect the cause in his own shortcomings, and thus to improve. The "Intellectual," named so in mockery, is incapable of learning; and, seeing that he joins the Movement, not for the Movement's sake, but for his own, at all critical moments he is found utterly oblivious of the Movement's interests, ready to sacrifice these interests to his own crossed malevolence. Words and sound being the "Intellectual's" realm, he is ever found adept in the tricks of the juggling fiends who palter with words in a double sense. He will say anything; he will sign anything; and, just as soon as the maggot bites him, wriggle out of it. Of course, the "Intellectual" is found out, eventually—if not later. There is the rub. His mercenary glitter often deceives the expert eyes and ears. Often he has done incalculable harm before he is "got onto." Now, then, everywhere, outside of America, and the English-speaking world in general, the microbe of the

"Intellectual" must be given time to develop before it is dealt with and stamped out. In America it is not necessary to give the evil rope before checking it. The conditions in the English-speaking world, in America, especially where capitalism is fullest-orbed, furnish the test by which the nuisance can be immediately detected, and, withal, furnish the means to abate it instantly.

Socialism, it has been well said, can spring only out of the lap of capitalism. But capitalism, together with all its necessary appurtenances, is not equally in evidence in all countries. Prominent among these appurtenances, and important in connection with the subject under consideration, are three circumstances:

First—The total absence of the last vestige of feudalism, including therein the sense of honor in the ruling class;

Second—As an immediate consequence of the first, a corrupt and elaborate electoral machinery through which none but capitalist principles will be allowed to filter to triumph; and

Third—As a consequence of the second, the sense of the unquestioned necessity of a bona fide and powerful economic organization of the Working Class.

It follows from this sequence that here in America the Union, the economic organization of Labor, leaps to the transcendent importance that Marx's genius dimly described in the distance, and that it has or can have nowhere outside of the English-speaking world. The proper economic organization of Labor, the Union in short, is indispensable in America for the emancipation of the Working Class. No Union, no Socialist Republic. The political arm of the Movement will be worn away useless without the economic arm is ready to second, to supplement, and, at the critical moment, to substitute it. Nay, it may happen worse. Without the regiments of the class-conscious Union step close upon the heels of their vanguard, of the political wedge, the "carefully selected" Socialists whom the electoral machinery of the capitalist class may allow to filter through to "victory," will ten to one lose whatever honor they had: they will become what we have seen the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party's successful candidates, without exception, become—fakers, that is, traitors in disguise; and what that means to the Movement it is needless to explain.

Accordingly, the Union that is a "Brotherhood of Capital and Labor" concern is a capitalist brigade; accordingly, only the class-conscious Union stands within the pale of the Labor Movement; accordingly, the question of Unionism is of prime importance to the Socialist Movement; and, finally, and capping the climax of sequences, the Socialist, whose opportunities for education raise him in letters above the rank and file of the wage-slave, but

who considers the Union a "passing affair," who does not give it as much thought as he does to the political movement, and who sees in it only a quarry for votes—such a Socialist lacks the grasp of the Movement, he can be safely put down from the start as an "Intellectual," and looked out for. It is an unerring test. Needless to wait until he betray the Cause later; he is betraying it now.

Every cause has its effect, and every effect re-acts back upon its cause, and, in turn, itself turns into cause. It was the Socialist Labor Party, a political and not an economic organization, that flashed across the path of the American Labor Movement the needed light upon Unionism. The education that the Party spread about called forth from the ranks of fully 15,000 workmen—the initial membership of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance—the demand for the organization of that body. What it means was speedily recognized by kindred spirits of evil. The Gomperses, whose occupation would be gone, and the "Intellectuals," whose heels felt gibed in advance by the protest of an economic body that would compel them to walk straight, struck hands. With slander and other such means they fought the new body. But all their efforts were of no avail. The Truth, that they were periodically pronouncing "dead," kept them hopping; and, today, the event in the Labor Movement of America is the call that proceeded last January from a conference in Chicago, of which, in his report published in The People, Frank Bohn said that its members "were practically unanimous in unqualified ratification of class-conscious, Industrial Unionism as advocated by the S. T. and L. A." The call summons the Working Class of America to a convention to place the Economic Movement of the land upon a plane that befits the country. The applause with which the call has been received justifies the expectation that a new, large and class-conscious Union will be born in June. Thus the expectation is justified that what was at first effect, will now be powerful enough to re-act back upon the cause—that the economic movement will take, and be powerful enough to enforce a stand, which, among other virtues, will have the virtue of smoking the "Intellectuals" out of their last haven of refuge—the so-called Socialist party, whither they fled out of the S.L.P. when the S.T. and L.A. was established—and thus purge and solidify the political Movement of the American Working Class.

The "Intellectual" cannot grasp the importance of Unionism. It is a case of material interests and moral and mental make-up combining. For bonafide Unionism the "Intellectual" has the feeling that a scalded cat has for water; to bogus Unionism he takes like a duck does to a mill-pond;—in short, the question of Unionism is a test that assays the "Intellectual" and proves him dross.

by Daniel De Leon

# INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST

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## EVOLUTION DEFEATS FAKERS

The convention of the metal trades department of the American Federation of Labor at Washington brought strongly to the fore the preposterous form of that organization and, by inference, its false basic position.

One of the stormy points at issue at this gabfest of labor fakirs was the problem of organization which the N.R.A. raised by its stimulus to more general gathering of the workers into "unions."

It appears that when the American Federation of Labor sent its organizers into the field to gather more dues payers, it found itself confronted with a situation vastly different from that of thirty or forty years ago. At that time, each worker had a definite craft at which he labored and the form of organization, the craft form, naturally fitted the stage of industrial development at the time, though De Leon had already glimpsed the trend and was formulating a more advanced form—the Industrial Union. Today, the advance of industry has subdivided labor to such a degree that individual craftsmanship has almost disappeared and the old form of unionism is as unsuited to the new conditions as swaddling clothes are to a full grown man.

Ask almost any worker today, "What do you do?" and he will hesitate before answering. He has done this, that and the other thing. With machinery doing most of the work and thus reducing him to the rank of a simple observer or director of their operations, the worker passes from one job to another, finding it an easy task to learn the control of the devices now prevalent in production. He thus has become, not a craftsman as of yore, who had to pass through years of schooling in a particular craft, but an industrial worker who drifts from one job to another, acquiring the simple knowledge of each in short order.

Such being the situation it is no surprise that when the American Federation of Labor organizers set out to "unionize" the workers under the N.R.A. they found that there were no craftsmen—that it was impossible to organize along any other than industrial lines—into unions which must embrace all the workers in a shop and all the shops into the form of Industrial Unions, and logically, all "Industrial Unions" into one grand whole of the working class.

This stunning discovery created a turmoil at the convention. The American Federation of Labor, as well as all craft unions, exist primarily to divide the workers so as to render them helpless against the capitalist class and in order to line the wallets of their labor "leaders." The only way which modern production permits them to organize is without craft distinction and thus the very forces of industry unite the workers for their ultimate good despite the machinations of the Greens and Wolls.

The Industrial Union form thus being born is confirmation of the revolutionary Socialist position that the forces of capitalism marshall and shape the implements of revolution for the workers. The unconscious marshalling of the workers must be directed into channels where it will proceed consciously—the workers must recognize the goal to which they must march and the tactics which they must adopt, and then spread the message to all corners of the land until the working class arises in its might and crushes the capitalist system

## MORRIS HILLQUIT

The passing of an individual usually is the occasion for eulogy. The goodness, the intelligence and other qualities regarded highly in all persons become the very attributes of the deceased, and deep grief, lamentations and high encomiums mark the scene.

The revolutionary movement however, cannot yield to the customary hypocricies, particularly when they must be employed to gloss over the acts of an individual ordinarily associated with it. All the more is this true when the association is a mistaken one and the acts serve to thwart the achievement of the goal to which the movement is set. It is its duty to ignore the sweet sentimentalities death is supposed to inspire, and treat the individual according to the part he has played. Only thus can the lessons be drawn which aid in building the victorious weapons of revolution.

Morris Hillquit is no exception to this principle of individual estimation. Hillquit has been a prominent figure in what is supposed to be a section of the working class revolutionary movement. He has been a guiding figure in the creation of the Socialist Party and in the formation of its policies. His words generally have been followed with the respect and attention properly belonging to a Socialist spokesman.

Hillquit, however, though he wore the cloak of the Socialist, was not, underneath it, at one with the organized movement for working class emancipation. He has in essence the wolf in sheep's clothing. He was a masquerader, an actor, one who unashamedly stole the phrases of the movement and used them to lead the workers into a path of disillusionment and futility.

If we look back at the revolutionary movement in this country at the beginning of this century, we find one which had just emerged from the groping period, the early period in which there are no definite established precedents and no clearly formulated plans of action. But it had already left that period behind. Daniel De Leon had applied his great intellect to the study of conditions in this country by the light of Karl Marx's great contributions to human thought, and he had evolved a system of principles and tactics which alone will serve the workers in their march to the revolution.

De Leon's principles were scientific. They excluded equivocation. They shunned compromise. They were intolerant to tomfoolery, to parliamentarism, to opportunism. They were deadly to the pretenders, the dilettantes, the careerists, politicians, and sentimentalists who had attached themselves to the movement.

Upon De Leon's influence making itself felt these elements started into action. They raised the cry of "doctrinarism." The movement could never succeed, they said, unless it pandered to the ignorant notions of the uninformed; it must commit itself to a vote-catching campaign, it must catch its flies with honey; it must find short cuts to Socialism—take the road of reform, etc. In the forefront of these elements stood Morris Hillquit.

De Leon warned the working class. The new proposed roads lead to disaster. Once the tangent road of opportunism and reform is entered it would take the workers further and further away from the goal of Socialism and into the realm of capitalist industrial feudalism.

De Leon was right. Each year the political party which Hillquit had helped form, the Socialist Party, has added new "honey" to its bait, in an effort to gather in the workers. It, together with other misleading organizations, such as the Communist Party, has aided the capitalist class in bewildering the workers and directing them away from Industrial Unionism and revolutionary political action. The backwardness of the workers in these respects has permitted the capitalist class to foist in its NRA, its initial steps toward the new feudalism, without any understanding of its portent by the workers and consequently no resistance to its advance. Hillquit contributed to this confusion of the workers by his stout advocacy of reforms and by his support of that bulwark of capitalism, the American Federation of Labor. As time went on, the Socialist Party moved into a position of "respectability" in the eyes of the capitalist class and is today supported by the lower layers of that group almost exclusively. Not only has it rejected the contributions which De Leon made to the American movement, but it has cast overboard the cardinal principles of Karl Marx.

One of the basic positions of Marxism is that an irrepressible class struggle exists in society between the capitalist class and the working class, and that this struggle must go on until the working class takes over the means of production, distribution and exchange, and thus puts an end to the capitalist class as such. Morris Hillquit, representing his party at a congress of the Second International, supported the vicious Kautsky Resolution which, flying in the face of Marxism, and ignoring the vivid, daily experiences and manifestations of the class struggle, held that there are times in which peace can be declared between the rulers and the ruled and cooperation be established.

On another occasion, Hillquit placed his signature to an anti-working class document when, in behalf of the Socialist Party, he agreed to the infamous anti-immigration resolution proposed at the Amsterdam Congress in which aid and comfort were given to the capitalist class in its efforts to create divisions in the ranks of the international proletariat by the erection of race, creed, political and geographical barriers.

Hillquit has been guilty of giving support to the reformistic, reactionary elements throughout the world. The McDonalds, Scheidmans, Kerenskys and others of their stripe who have mislead and slaughtered countless workers have always been able to count on the support of this "leader of American Socialism" in their struggles to reach the places of power where they could do most damage.

The time is fast approaching when the workers will awaken to the damage that is being done them by the McDonalds, Kerenskys, Millerands, Hillquits and others of their ilk. When they do they will make short shrift of them. Hillquit was lucky indeed to escape their wrath. With the intelligent action that comes from sound understanding, the working class will turn to its true leaders, Marx, Engels, and De Leon, and leap forward to its emancipation by completely abandoning reform, and bending itself to the sole task of overthrowing capitalism and establishing the Industrial Republic of Labor.

C. N.

## I. U. P. Frustrates Capitalist Politicians

(Continued from page 1)

therefore have their places in the voting machines and thus give the class conscious workers of New York an opportunity to express their demand for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

In this contest with the turncoat Tammanites, the Industrial Union Party has shown itself well able to take care of itself. Its correct position has given it the confidence and aggressiveness which bring dismay to its enemies. The thoroughness with which it enters into any activity it undertakes is in strong contrast to the group which recently sought to appropriate its name. This latter "organization" which was among those called upon to defend itself before the attacks of the McKeeites, collapsed like a pricked balloon under the first onslaught, as it had failed to fulfill the simplest requirements of the Election Laws.

The Industrial Union Party emblem—the earth in the grasp of Labor—is the symbol under which the working class should record its vote. The symbol stands for the society which the workers must eventually establish—a society of, by, and for the useful members of society—Socialism.

## QUESTION BOX

Sympathizer, New York.—The peasant and the farmer differ in that the peasant produces in order to consume, except for a possible surplus, all he produces. The farmer carries on production for sale. He buys his necessities at the crossroads store.

The different roles each plays in society gives the peasant a different material interest than the farmer, and hence the measures used in Russia in relation to the peasant are absurd if applied in America to the farmer. The conditions in this country require their special tactics. De Leon supplied these for the American revolutionary movement. Read De Leon.

## "Industrial Bill,"



## Average Worker

**AVERAGE WORKER:** You Industrial Unionists are too sweeping—too bitter. All is not lost. This old U. S. A. isn't licked. The N.R.A. is slowly but surely taking hold. The factory doors are being opened. Millions are returning to work. The circle will soon be complete. Buying is starting and we are returning to a healthy prosperity.

**INDUSTRIAL BILL:** It must be quite a relief for you no longer to have to support your two brothers and help support your sister's family!

**A. W.** Only one of my brothers has started to work but the others I still keep assisting. What made you think otherwise?

**I. B.** What's wrong here? You broke out such oratorical optimism—"millions returning to work"—"healthy prosperity." I thought that the depression was over.

**A. W.** We must keep up hope, hope. I read where over two million have gone back to work.

**I. B.** How many million were out?

**A. W.** 'Twas said about seventeen and a half million.

**I. B.** What was the slogan about how many would be at work by Labor Day?

**A. W.** 'Twas said six million.

**I. B.** Labor Day is now how far behind us?

**A. W.** About two months.

**I. B.** Yes,—you must have "hope" as you say—"hope" worthy only of the docile wage slave that you are. No code, no reformistic political efforts can do anything for you. Did you ever read or hear anywhere of anyone being guaranteed a job?

**A. W.** Not exactly.

**I. B.** Not at all. Ridiculously low minimum wages have been fixed in a good many industries but nowhere has any employer or employing group been told that he or they must continue to operate and employ labor. Then too, the nominal wages are fixed for those who work, in some cases as low as twelve or fifteen dollars a week. Notice that they are not fixed in ratio to their necessary expenses to meet the impending and, in many cases, already started rise in prices. For the number who will resume work in the large cities, equal or greater numbers will be hurled out of employment in the rural or urban districts. The N.R.A. is to protect large capital, not wage slaves like you. During the last few years a degree of exploitation has sprung up in the rural and small urban districts where labor has been cheaper than machinery. Welfare organizations have wept crocodile tears over girls who received three and a half to six dollars for a full week's work. Large capitalist manufacturers in the cities wept too, but they wept because of the fact that they were being undersold by the small cockroach manufacturers operating on this almost free labor in the small towns. Now these small manufacturers will be driven out—unable to compete with the owners of large machines. The unemployed will flock to the cities and as you said, a "circle will be completed" but not the one of so-called "healthy prosperity" but rather the old run-around of chronic degradation, the only lot of the working class under capitalism. Had it occurred to you that even these codes cannot be enforced?

**A. W.** I wonder.

**I. B.** Reading from New York Times of August 11th, 1933: "Listen to the Chairman of the Complaint Bureau of N.R.A. as he states: 'A large percentage of complaints received at campaign headquarters come from wives, mothers and children of employees because of the unwillingness on the part of their menfolk to complain in fear that this

(Continued on Page 4)

# N. I. R. A. - - Towards Industrial Feudalism

By DE LEONIST

"In the trusts freedom of competition changes to its very opposite—into monopoly; and the production without any definite plan of capitalist society capitulates to the production upon a definite plan of the invading socialist society. Certainly this is so far still to the benefit and advantage of the capitalists. But in this case the exploitation is so palpable, that it must break down. No nation will put up with production conducted by trusts, with so barefaced an exploitation of the community by a small band of dividend-mongers.

IN ANY CASE WITH TRUSTS OR WITHOUT—THE OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF CAPITALIST SOCIETY—THE STATE—WILL ULTIMATELY HAVE TO UNDERTAKE THE DIRECTION OF PRODUCTION."

[Our emphasis]

Frederick Engels—In Socialism, Scientific and Utopian—1877.

"It does not follow that because the capitalist system works out its own downfall, therefore class rule will have ceased.

It may be a question whether we are now under the capitalist system proper. Much may be said on the side of the theory that if we are not yet under a different system we are fast tending towards it. . . . The country is now moving into a social system to which the name "Capitalism," in its proper sense, is applying less and less. A monopoly is now surging upward to which the designation "Plutocratic Feudalism" is the fitter term. . . .

Daniel De Leon—"As To Politics," page 107, 1907.

Thus did the co-founder of Scientific Socialism, Frederick Engels, more than 55 years ago foresee and foretell the rise of the American N.I.R.A.

And thus did Daniel De Leon more than 25 years ago foresee the gradual development toward what has become known as Industrial Feudalism.

The N.I.R.A. is the answer of the capitalist class, to the necessity of definite planned production, that Engels foresaw in 1877.

On all hands, the question is being asked can the N.I.R.A. succeed. To answer this query intelligently one must bear in mind its true object; which is to prepare the ground for Industrial Feudalism. Bearing this in mind the answer is NO, insofar as the workers are concerned. Not only cannot the N.I.R.A. improve the worker's present deplorable position, but its ultimate success cannot but help to degrade him to the status of an industrial serf, deprived of all civil, political and economic freedom.

Marxian Socialism teaches us that all history since the dissolution of primitive society has been a series of class struggles, including the Capitalist period. That these struggles did not constitute a course of accidental and unrelated events; but rather that they constitute a process of social development tending toward the full development of the heretofore insufficient means of production; so that it will become possible for all members of society to enjoy the material necessities of life without stint. To capitalism was reserved the historic mission of bringing such means of production to a high level of productivity.

Today capitalism has achieved this function and it has no further historical justification for its continued existence. However, as De Leon states, it does not follow that because the capitalist system works out its own downfall therefore class rule will have ceased. The capitalist class will not willingly abdicate and surrender its monopoly of the social means of production and distribution, hence the spectre of INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM that is confronting the workers today in the shape of the N.I.R.A.

There is one formidable obstacle that stands in the path of the capitalist class in achieving its goal.

During the early days of its development capitalism had need, because of exigencies of its mode of production, of a class of "Free Labor." Having become fully developed, capitalism has no further need of such "Free Labor." In fact it has now become, as stated, a positive impediment.

Capitalist "planned production," has no room for a class of "Free Labor" with the right to strike and thereby periodically disrupt the industrial process. Hence one of the supreme tasks of the N.I.R.A. is to accomplish the liquidation of "Free Labor" which spells the abolition of class conscious unions and their fundamental right to strike.

But hold on, the reader may say, why, the N.I.R.A. itself guarantees the right of COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, how do you get around that?

Very true, but we shall now proceed to show, that the collective bargaining clause, is the joker in the pack, a wolf in sheep's clothes and does not mean what it is commonly accepted to mean. In fact it means the very opposite of what it implies and it spells the annihilation of class conscious unionism and the right to strike, and the substitution in their place of the so-called unions based on the Fascist pattern of Italy and Germany.

Exhibit A.

Dudley Cates Assistant Administrator for Industry resigned on August 31, 1933 from the N.I.R.A. The grounds of his resignation are stated as follows in the N. Y. Times of September 1, 1933.

"The conventional types of trades unions and employers associations, both essentially provocative, are inconsistent with the spirit of the act. The underlying purpose of the N.I.R.A. is to create a balanced economy in the United States. The industry therefore should be a unit in establishing the field of collective bargaining, of 'united action of labor and management, under adequate government supervision. . . .

"This means vertical unions in each industry free from domination and control either by employers or outside labor leaders."

Here we have the theoretical approach to Industrial Feudalism, pure and simple.

Mr. Cates neglects to state who will control the government or to use the Marxian term—the State, in this regulatory process, but that is quite apparent. It will be the CAPITALIST, as at present, the self same "employers" he speaks of.

EXHIBIT B.—General Johnson the High Priest of the N.I.R.A. made the following comment on Cates resignation and statement:

"Mr. Cates' statement discloses a theme WHICH MANY OF US HERE ENTERTAIN—that with an industry organized vertically the logical labor organization is vertical, also with overhead control of labor as responsible to government. I RELY ON THE LOGIC OF CIRCUMSTANCES TO DEMONSTRATE THIS VIEW."

So here we have the situation. It is not that Mr. Cates does not represent the view entertained by the N.I.R.A. His position is correct, but his conduct is too precipitate for the circumstances. He forgets that you can catch more flies with molasses than you can with vinegar.

Exhibit C.—Gen. Johnson in his address to the A. F. of L. convention came out flat-footedly—"LABOR MUST GIVE UP ITS RIGHT TO STRIKE" was the burden of his speech. "Success for the N.I.R.A. hinges on this point and strikes can not be tolerated." Now the cat is out of the bag. It must be admitted that the General is quite right but he omitted to state an important and far-reaching corollary of such truth, and that is, that the success of the N.I.R.A. means industrial serfdom for the workers.

In the face of this conclusive evidence can any fair minded worker for a moment doubt that the object of the N.I.R.A. collective bargaining clause is to abolish the right to strike and to organize into bonafide working class unions, two separate rights each of which cannot exist without the other.

Without the right to organize into Socialist Industrial Unions, the right of the ballot and political freedom will become a hollow mockery, meaningless, and would not long survive.

Workers of America give heed to the warning of De Leon. Before your very eyes, the chains of Industrial Serfdom are being forged.

Before it is too late, ACT. Organize politically into the INDUSTRIAL UNION

## Industrial Bill and Average Worker

(Continued from page 3)

may cost them their jobs." The same issue reveals how employers are overcoming the so-called stringencies of the code by enforced vacations without pay, working employees the old hours and then discharging them, working in split shifts, closing down establishments entirely for stipulated periods and other means.

A. W. In some cases, have not wages been raised?

I. B. Quite true, but one way of getting back the increase wage is by intensification of the working day. Have you read or heard anywhere where a boss cannot be permitted to speed up the machines and force the help to step up to meet the increased speed? Listen, A. W., capitalism takes it out of the hide of the worker in five ways. One, by socialized labor, two by specialized labor, Three, by machine production (these three make for the so-called mass production.) Four, intensification of the working day; Five, lengthening of the working day. "Good-hearted" politicians often make a political football of this last one; they may introduce a bill or sign a bill to shorten the hours of labor but they never try and can't monkey with the other four means of exploitation.

A. W. Doesn't seem as though we had much chance, does it?

I. B. None. Here's one for you to figure out till we meet next time. Suppose after all these codes and wages are fixed and the politicians wish to enforce them right along—how is it to be done? Will not every inspector or investigator have his hand out ready to overlook a violation as they did with respect to the "noble experiment" of prohibition and as they do with all building and other violations? Aside from the honesty of the task, it has cost millions to run down the source of bootleg liquor. Have you ever thought of the billions it would take to run down the source of bootleg labor in all sorts of merchandise. Will a half starved unemployed worker take a job and accept an envelope marked eighteen dollars on the outside, tho it contained but fifteen dollars on the inside, I ask you?

A. W. I'll say he will.

I. B. Read De Leon's literature; study Industrial Unionism; attend the Industrial Union Party lectures; join a study class of the Industrial Union Party. If the workers did these, they wouldn't talk of "hope." By the power within their own hands they would make decent living conditions and happiness a realization.

J. M.

## I. U. P. Wins Court Victory

(Continued from Page 1)

ballots are used, and which is not a party as therein provided." We are concerned then with the simple question of the unfair use of similar names by competitors engaged in a common enterprise or undertaking. Clearly, under the authorities, the plaintiff is entitled to an injunction pendente lite, enjoining the defendant, for the reason that it first appropriated what is equivalent apparently to a trade name, i.e., Industrial Union, and the attempted use of those words by the defendant is subjecting the plaintiff to the unfair competition of its rival, the defendant, which amounts to an invasion of the good-will acquired by the plaintiff for the name so appropriate (Salvation Army v. Ant. Salvation Army, 135 A. D., 268, 120 S. 471; Society of War of 1812 v. Society of War of 1812 46 A. D., 568, 62 S., 355; Benevolent & P. O. of E. v. Improved B. & P. O. of E., 205 N. Y., 459, 98 N. E., 756; Knight Worshipful &c., v.

PARTY, on the basis of the revolutionary ballot, and economically in the United Workers of America for the two-fold purpose, of supplying the might to protect the revolutionary ballot, and to build up the Socialist Industrial Unions, the basis of the future Socialist Republic.

The alternative is INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM AND INDUSTRIAL SERFDOM.

## UNITED WORKERS of America



Headquarters:

Nordic Temple Jamestown, N. Y.

BRANCH MEETINGS U. W. of A. Jamestown, N. Y.

Industrial Mixed Branch No. 1, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at the Nordic Temple.

Metal Industrial Branch No. 1, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at the Nordic Temple.

ERIE, PA.

Industrial MIXED Branch No. 2 meets every Wednesday evening at 8 p. m. at 134 East 23rd St., Erie, Pa. Secretary, Lloyd W. Robertson, 6607 East 25th St., Erie, Pa.

WARREN, Pa.—Mixed Union No. 3 meets every 1st and 3rd Monday of the month at S. O. of A. Hall, East 2nd St. Warren, Pa.

The Industrial Executive Board meets every Saturday at 7 p. m. at the Nordic Temple, Jamestown, N. Y.

## I. U. P. Notices

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Branch Brooklyn

Tuesday evenings—at Eastern Parkway and Utica Avenue.

Saturday evenings—at Eastern Parkway and Nostrand Ave.

BRANCH BRONX

Tuesdays

Oct. 31—161st St., and Prospect Avenue. Nov. 7—Fordham Road & Walton Avenue. Nov. 14—161st St. and Prospect Avenue.

Thursdays

Nov. 2—170th St. & Walton Avenue. Nov. 9—170th St. & Walton Avenue. Nov. 16—170th St. & Walton Avenue.

Saturdays

Nov. 4—72nd St. and Broadway. Nov. 11—95th St. and Broadway. Nov. 18—72nd St. and Broadway.

Branch Schenectady, N. Y.

Every Friday evening at 8:00 p.m. at Crescent Park, Schenectady.

BRANCH MEETINGS

AKRON, O.—For information write William Mullen, 2166 Eighth Street, Kenmore District, Akron, O.

BRONX, N. Y. City—Business meetings 2nd and 4th Fridays of each month: at 8 p. m. Headquarters, 1032 Prospect Ave.

BROOKLYN, N. Y. City.—For information write A. Person, 88 Fourth Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y., Phone, Triangle 5-3189.

JAMESTOWN, N. Y.—Meets every Friday evening at 8 p. m. in United Workers Hall, Nordic Temple Bldg. Everybody Welcome.

SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—Regular business meetings 2nd and 4th Thursdays of each month at Turn Hall, 836 Albany St.

Johnson, 107 Misc., 249, 177 S., 500; Matter of Social Democratic Party, 182 N. Y., 442; In re Kaufman, 78 Misc., 72, 138 S., 804; Lehrenkrauss et al. v. Universal Tours, Inc., 262 N. Y., 332).

Brandon, sec'y &c., v. Brandon &c.,—Motion for temporary injunction is granted. Bond fixed at \$1,000. See memorandum opinion filed herewith."

The action in this matter is being vigorously prosecuted in order to make the injunction permanent, and thus assure the party against further misuse of its name.